1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in [476] a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [805] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

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Clothing

195 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is
292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom,
565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's
[286] wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

291 Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war
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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce.

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Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles.

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The people of Matsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Matsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local.

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In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom.

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Men in Matsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hinpan), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist.

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In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

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852 565 462 [178] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe [286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more important in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[369] [491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[235] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[279] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

2. Rural Industries

198 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
428 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis
[178] of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegusuku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[286] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

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Canvas acquired

Canvas acquired from the military has in part replaced the ricestraw mat called nukubuku, which is used for drying grain in the sun. There were also several looms for nukubuku in prewar Yamada, but few if any now. Before the war several families had looms for making mushiru, whose weft is reed ('i') and warp is cord made of pandanus root. At the present time one old man still makes mushiru. His loom is a primitive double-bar loom and it takes him more than a day to weave one mat. He cannot compete with the much faster looms used at Kanegusuku. 286 178

3. Rural Finance

The chief money crop is still sugar, and the leading financial institution in the countryside is still the 'moai', or mutual loan group. However, there are innumerable other occasions when the farmer must pay out money or borrow money. These occasions include personal loans, village taxes, levies, payments to officials, contributions of money for prizes at fairs, and occasional contributions for village improvements. Finally, there is the traditional last resort of people in financial difficulties---sale of one or more of their children. 45

Mutual Loan Groups Before the war the mutual loan group, or 'moai' (Okinawan muyē) met only once or twice a year. Each of the forty shares (kuchi) averaged ¥20, and the record book had to have the 'son' office stamp upon it. The record book could not be shown or opened except at each meeting. Almost all postwar 'moai' meet once a month, and usually this is the fifteenth of the lunar month. The reason for this date is not known. It may have some relation to the fact that habu snakes are night feeders, and may feed less on moonlit nights; or it may be due to the need for moonlight to find one's inebriated way home. 452

Since there was no livestock after the war, most 'moai' then were formed with the main purpose of buying livestock, although the winner did not have to use the money for this. Nanahan people have an unwritten rule that 'moai' money may not be used to pay off debts. The amounts of the shares of the three postwar 'moai' reflect the slowly increasing amounts of money available to the farmer. The first 'moai' had twenty shares at ¥200 each; the second one had twenty shares at ¥500 each; the third and still-continuing 'moai'---scheduled to end in April of 1955---has twenty-four shares at ¥1,000 each.

Every 'moai' has slightly different rules, but all are relatively simple. The following are the rules for the Nanahan 'moai':

1. Time of meeting is about 9 P.M. Bids will be received about 9:30, but if a person is late or absent when the bids are read, he will not be able to get the money even if he planned a low bid.

2. Bids: if a written bid is for the same amount as a verbal bid, the money goes to the person submitting the written bid.

3. The money will be collected at the house of the tuinushi (person who was the successful bidder at the last meeting). The tuinushi must get three other persons to sign a guarantee of his reliability.

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman. [463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manu-
[322] facture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknowledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to
[323] members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as <u>biingata</u> (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 <u>Power and Machinery</u> Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

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379 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable